

JUN 26 1972

Confederation

Who ?

When ?

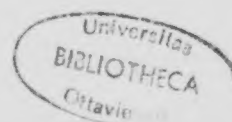
Where ?

Why ?

By H. S. Seaman

July 1st, 1917

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QUEEN VICTORIA

Whose Signature on March 29th, 1867, made the B. N. A. Act a Law of the British Empire

Foreshadowings

Seldom, if ever, does it transpire that any large, beneficent and permanent movement originates spontaneously and develops into complete operation without passing through what might be appropriately termed birth-pangs. We are today, July the first, nineteen hundred and seventeen, commemorating an event which was far from being spontaneous in inception or complete in operation at its inauguration. It would be difficult to gather into one article all the records of and efforts to create a union of two or more of the provincial units that now constitute the territory subject to the British North America Act—or, as we more euphoniously express it, Confederation—and

in some of its essential features. The tenor of the proposal made by Chief Justice Smith was the federation of the six loyal provinces of British North America: Canada (now Ontario and Quebec), Cape Breton (this province was not united with Nova Scotia until 1819), Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, into a commonwealth or dominion, having a central Parliament and Governor-General to preside over it, and a local Parliament and Lieutenant-Governor for each province. This comprehensive plan was doubtless the result of his experience in and with the revolting colonies previous to the said revolt and close observation of the course of their history, as it had developed since that time



EDWARD VII.

Sovereign During Whose Reign Canada Has Made Great Progress



GEORGE V.

this effort will not assume such an undertaking, but rather recite some of the more outstanding events which preceded and efforts which resulted in its consummation.

We believe the first real attempt at a document, having this end in view, was that drawn up by William Smith, chief justice of the Province of Canada. William Smith was born in New York—it must not be concluded that he was an American from this, for he was born nearly fifty years before 1776—and rose to be chief justice of that colony while it was still British. After the evacuation Smith came to Canada, and was Lord Dorchester's chief adviser. It was then, no work of a novice that the Governor forwarded to the Home Government in October, 1789, along with another or revised plan more to his own personal liking

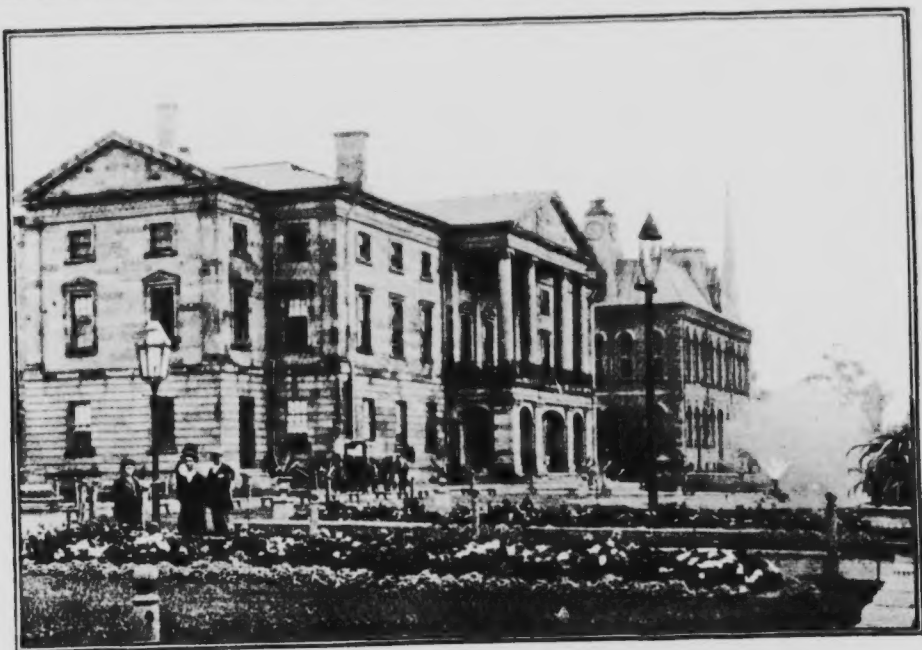
within the new American Union. No doubt there had seeped into Smith's mind more of the republican sentiment than he would have cared to admit, for in the details of his plan his views ran counter to those of Dorchester, who, of course, was a thorough advocate of the monarchical form of government; it would be unreasonable to expect otherwise of a man whose whole life had been spent within the range of such influence, as well as being a soldier, would be accustomed to the habit of taking orders from higher authorities and giving orders to those in lower scales of life. Apparently Dorchester's views were more in keeping with those of the Home Government, for the Constitutional Act of 1791 is not noted for giving very much power to the people.

Earlier Probabilities

There have no records come down to us, but who will say that Pitt—who had foresight enough to find the men and support enough to secure the appointment of the men that brought Canada under British government—did not see the vision of a great union of North American colonies under the flag combining the Crosses of St. George and St. Andrew?

What think you of Wolfe, who did the impossible—had not Montcalm declared it was impossible for any army to capture Quebec, and no one knew Quebec better than Montcalm, but he did not then know

But we must right-about-face, and look in the other direction. The Duke of Kent (father of Queen Victoria) spent about seven years in Canada, having arrived before Lord Dorchester left on August 18th, 1791, as commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in Canada (the then Canada), remaining until January, 1794. From 1796 to 1800 he was stationed in the same capacity at Halifax, over the militia of that district. In correspondence between the Duke of Kent and Chief Justice Sewell, successor of (and son-in-law to) Chief Justice Smith, this subject is referred to, and a plan outlined by Sewell, which the Duke of Kent apparently thought of value, was presented by the



PROVINCIAL BUILDING, CHARLOTTETOWN, P. E. I.
Where the First Confederation Conference Was Held

Wolfe—did Wolfe have no dream of some kind of unity between the divergent elements of this vast area of territory? And Geoffrey Amherst, could he—plodder, sluggish, if you like; but withal the man who, from Louisbourg to New York, New York to Niagara, Niagara to Montreal, had measured the circumference, yea, more, had led the battalions of Britain to complete victory, the victory that remains to this day—could such a man fail to pierce beyond the rim of the horizon of the year 1760, or even 1763? None of these have left any trace, apparently—no word or plan, no suggestion; but could none of these have seen the mirage?

latter to the Government, but it did not arouse any enthusiasm or secure any action.

In 1822 the financial quarrel—about their respective shares in the customs duties, which were largely collected at Montreal, but borne by the people of the Upper Province, who were the larger importers—became acute. This, together with the difference of opinion as to the Clergy Reserves in the Upper Province particularly, brought about an effort on the part of those outside the charmed circle of the Family Compact and their hangers on, to secure the support of representatives from Nova Scotia, and together a bill was drafted, taken to England by representatives and there delivered to and turned down by the Colonial Office.

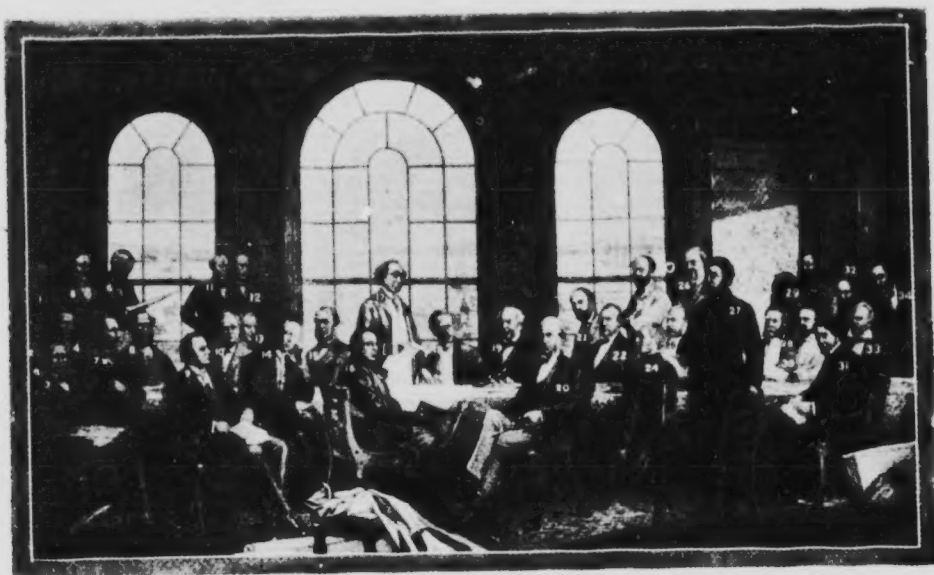
Wm. Lyon Mackenzie

Everyone has heard of William Lyon Mackenzie, but everyone does not know how great a debt of gratitude is due to this man. "The greatest agitator that Upper Canada has ever had within her limits." "A man, years ahead of his time." This man took very active measures, "not in rebellion," as he and his colleagues stated, "against the Queen or her Government, but against colonial misgovernment." Part of one sentence will suffice to illustrate the stage at which the federal idea had arrived in his mind at least in 1825. "A union of all the colonies with a government suitably poised and modelled, so as to have under its eye the resources of our whole territory and having the means in its power

That Mackenzie was driven—by sheer determination to secure for the people the right to say through representatives chosen by themselves and responsible to themselves, how they themselves shall be governed—to do things which were illegal and rebellious, is only to show how in the end wrong was put off and right was put on the seat of authority.

Elected by a large majority, when the Town of York received its Charter, changed its name and became the City of Toronto, with William Lyon Mackenzie as its first mayor, he served the city well, in spite of his many failings, and he died as he lived, poor because too publicly spirited to become rich.

Rebellion—Banishment



FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION—QUEBEC CONFERENCE

to administer impartial justice in all its bounds, to no one part at the expense of another, would require few boons from Britain, and would advance her interests more in a few years than the bare right of possession of a barren, uncultivated wilderness of lake and forest with some three or four inhabitants to the square mile." Some one has said that it was he who first formulated distinctly the principle of responsible government, and was among the first to advocate a confederation of the provinces. In 1833 he wrote to a friend: "I have long desired to see a conference assembled at Quebec, consisting of delegates freely elected by the people of the six northern colonies, to express to England the opinion of the whole body on matters of great general interest."

But the fates were against him, and this man, who could see fairer visions for Canada than any other man of his time, became a fugitive from justice, a rebel in very earnest, we believe still, not against British authority, but miscarried British rule. Letters penned by his hand in 1838 from points in the United States contain such sentences as the following:

"As I intend to take a more active share in the offensive department against Mother Britain, this next winter, I propose myself the pleasure of delivering a lecture at

"Your P. M. is, I find, friendly to the emancipation of t'other half of North America from European aristocratic thralldom."

"I believe you will find that the fire (\$500,000 loss) was not accidental. A person (patriot) left the town with the boat to prevent apprehension—he was a relative of some banished."

mitted to return and enjoy all the privileges of Canadian citizenship.

Lord Durham

It is rather remarkable that there should



KEY TO FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION

1. Hewitt Barnard (1826-1893), Secretary; 2. W. A. Henry (1816-1888), Nova Scotia; 3. E. Palmer (1809-1889), Prince Edward Island; 4. W. H. Steeves (1814-1873), New Brunswick; 5. Charles Fisher (1808-1880), New Brunswick; 6. Edward Whalen (1824-1867), Prince Edward Island; 7. Colonel John Hamilton Gray (1811-1887), Prince Edward Island; 8. George Coles (1810-1875), Prince Edward Island; 9. Ambrose Shea (1818-), Newfoundland; 10. F. B. T. Carter (1819-1900), Newfoundland; 11. Samuel Leonard Tilley (1818-1896), New Brunswick; 12. J. C. Chapais (1812-1885), Canada; 13. E. B. Chandler (1800-1880), New Brunswick; 14. Alexander Campbell (1821-1892), Canada; 15. Adams G. Archibald (1814-1892), Nova Scotia; 16. Hector Langevin (1826-), Canada; 17. John A. Macdonald (1815-1891), Canada; 18. George Etienne Cartier (1814-1873), Canada; 19. Etienne Paschal Taché (1795-1865), Canada; 20. George Brown (1818-1880), Canada; 21. Thomas H. Haviland (1822-1895), Prince Edward Island; 22. Alexander T. Galt (1817-1893), Canada; 23. Peter Mitchell (1824-1899), New Brunswick; 24. Oliver Mowat (1820-1903), Canada; 25. J. Cockburn (1819-1883), Canada; 26. R. B. Dickie (1811-1903), Nova Scotia; 27. Charles Tupper (1821-), Nova Scotia; 28. J. H. Gray (1814-1889), New Brunswick; 29. W. H. Pope (1825-1879), Prince Edward Island; 30. William McDougall (1822-1905), Canada; 31. Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868), Canada; 32. A. A. Macdonald (1829-), Prince Edward Island; 33. J. McCully (1809-1877), Nova Scotia; 34. J. M. Johnson (1818-1868), New Brunswick.

"If you know any shrewd and daring fellow who would burn a church, a fleet, a barracks, let me know."

After a checkered career in the United States, a measure originated in 1849 in the House at Toronto, it was passed unanimously by both Houses, and Mackenzie, the last of those in exile, by an Act of Amnesty assented to by Lord Elgin in the name of the Queen, on February 1st, 1849, was per-

be in England, at this same period, a member of the House of Lords, who was just as essentially, though hardly so relentlessly or actively rebellious, a man who almost incessantly agitated for reforms. Was there method in their madness? Were the government wise enough to serve a double purpose in sending Lord Durham to Canada as Governor-General in 1838?



BY THE QUEEN!

A PROCLAMATION

For uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, into one Dominion, under the name of CANADA.

VICTORIA R.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament, passed on the Twenty-ninth day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, in the Thirtieth year of Our reign, intituled, "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith," after divers recitals it is enacted that "it shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to declare, by Proclamation, that on and after a day therein appointed, not being more than six months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, shall form and be One Dominion under the name of Canada, and on and after that day those Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly;" and it is thereby further enacted, that "Such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen, by Warrant, under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thinks fit to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union:"

We, therefore, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, and We do ordain, declare, and command that on and after the First day of July, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, shall form and be One Dominion, under the name of CANADA. And we do further ordain and declare that the persons whose names are herein inserted and so forth are the persons of whom we have by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual thought fit to approve as the persons who shall be first summoned to the Senate of Canada.

Given at our Court at Windsor, Canada, the Twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, and in the Thirtieth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

PROCLAMATION OF CONFEDERATION

Dated May 22nd, 1867

Did they know that when his work was completed they would know the truth, as well as being well rid of a thorn in the flesh, as they hoped, for a Governor's term of office (four years)?

Whether it was wisdom or accident, Lord Durham's report of conditions in Canada, based on his experience as Her Majesty's representative in the Government of Canada from May 29th to October 31st, 1838, contained more light on the situation, for the use of the Home Government, when it was laid on the table in the House, on February 11th, 1839, by Lord Melbourne, than any

document of the same number of pages had ever embraced before.

Lord Durham's report is on the shelves of every public library in Canada (or the librarian should have his successor appointed) and needs no comment here, but the Canada Act (Canada's fourth Charter) which was the direct outcome of that report, and received the royal assent on February 10th, 1841, did not solve all of the Canadian problems by any means, for these could not be put away by the writing of a new code of laws which did not remove the basic obstruction to their solution.

The Canada Act at Work

Kingston had been chosen as the capital of United Canada. It was favorably situated as the population was distributed at that time, and as accessible as any community having the facilities for the entertainment of a considerable increase in its population for a few weeks. The first session was assembled on June 14th, 1841, and the Governor-General, Lord Sydenham, read the address from the throne the following day. It took eight days to secure the adoption of the speech on the address. However, some good legislation was secured during this first session. The Municipal Act,

limb, a fine of twenty-five pounds and imprisonment for three months, or either, being the penalty for a conviction of a battery committed during an election day or within two miles of the hustings. Pressure was brought to bear, but was not yet successful, in moving the seat of government to Montreal. The session was adjourned on October 12th until November 18th, when it met only to be prorogued on the same day, owing to the illness of the Governor-General, whose health continued to decline until the end, which came on May 19th, 1843. Baron Metcalfe (Sir Charles at the time of his arrival in Canada) succeeded Sir Charles Bagot as Governor-General on March 30th, 1843, but succeeded in counteracting all that



COMMONS AND SENATE, OTTAWA

Before the Fire, February 3rd, 1916

Note the "Body Guard," the Escort of the Governor-General, Who is Opening the Session of Parliament

the Common School Act and other bills of less importance. On September 3rd Robert Baldwin proposed resolutions affirming responsible government, which were carried with little or no opposition. The session was prorogued on September 18th, in consequence of the very critical state of health of the Governor-General, whose death occurred the following day. Sir Chas. Bagot, his successor in office, like his predecessor, only lived to take part in the Government of Canada, through one session of Parliament. That session had under review four principal matters. The most notable bill was one which provided the opportunity for a respectable citizen to record his vote without running the risk of a broken head or

Bagot had accomplished in restoring respect for British affiliation. "A Canadian," writing a couple of years later says: "Sir Chas. Bagot succeeded in reconciling and attaching to the British Government . . . people whose affections had been in a great degree alienated by former misgovernment. The test of his capacity for the high office which he held was his complete success." While another Canadian applied a familiar sentence from George Elliott with equal effect in an opposite estimate of Sir Charles Metcalfe: "A tallow dip is an excellent thing in the kitchen candlestick. It is only when you stick it in silver and introduce it in the drawing room that it seems dim and ineffectual. Alas for the worthy man

who, like the candle, gets himself in the wrong place." "Sir Charles was, during his administration in Canada, a glaring instance of a round peg in a square hole." Having admitted on various occasions, both before his arrival and after, that responsible government was in force under the Canada Act, yet he could not bring himself to submit to the dictates of the party that had been made responsible by the people themselves, but rather demanded that his own inclinations and opinions should rule at least part of the time. But such a disposition was bound in the long run to run amuck. It was a minor matter in itself—the appointment of a clerk of the peace, but without the consent of the Ministers it afforded the opportunity for the flasco which

November 3d. Twenty days later the Ministers learned from an outside source that a clerk of the peace had been appointed by the Governor without consultation. The following day a deputation, Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Lafontaine, waited on His Excellency regarding the making of appointments without consulting the members of the Council. The reply they received set the pace, as regards the view held by the Governor as to the royal prerogative. What would become of the Governor if he had no authority to say anything? The outcome was the resignation, with a single exception, of the Ministry, and on December 2nd the Legislature by a vote of 46 to 23, sustained the Ministry in their decision that resignation was the proper course, only the Speaker not



OLD CANADA PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, QUEBEC
Where the Details of Confederation Were Thoroughly

began on Friday, November 24th, 1843, and ended with the resignation of nine out of ten of the Ministers composing the Council two days later, and on December 9th Parliament was prorogued, no Ministry having been formed. Mr. Dominick Daly, the one Minister who had not resigned, was the Ministry. For over seven months the Governor, with the advice of Mr. Henry Draper, labored to construct a Ministry, which was finally completed late in August.

Governor and Council Clash

During the session, on October 9th, His Excellency sent a message to the Legislature relative to the removal of the seat of Government to Montreal, a measure which was not agreed by the House until

voting; business could not be carried on without a Ministry, and the House was prorogued on the 9th.

There was no blast of trumpets in Toronto on March 5th, 1844, to herald the advent of a little weekly newspaper, but such took place, and few newspapers before or since in Canada have had greater influence than the wee sheet that George Brown published the first issue of on that day, "The Globe." In the initial number the young editor stated frankly the principles and policy of the paper, as well as the party which it was the intention of the publisher to support. "Firmly attached to the principles of the British Constitution, believing the limited monarchy of Great Britain the best system of government yet devised by the wisdom of man, and sincerely convinced

that the prosperity of Canada will best be advanced by a close connection between it and the mother country, the editor of the *Globe* will support all measures that will tend to draw closer the bonds of mutual advantageous union." "The battle that the Reformers of Canada will fight is not the battle of a party, but the battle of a constitutional right against the undue interference of executive power."

The Campaign Started

A great meeting was held in Toronto, opening on March 25th with representative Reform leaders present from every district. Robert Baldwin, the father of Responsible Government, was in the chair, and William

Macdonald in Parliament

On November 28th the new Parliament met in Montreal, and John Alexander Macdonald took his seat for the first time. In his election address he had, of course, taken opportunity to combat the views of the various anti-conservative sections into which the members and people generally were divided, and had likewise pledged himself to the preservation of adherence to the British Crown and principles of government. Five speeches in five years was not a large order for the man who was to be the Premier of Canada for nineteen years. He was busy studying constitutional history, even amid the heated debates, but he was thus laying the foundation for the great



ALEXANDER T. GALT

Leader Protestant Conservative in Quebec



GEORGES E. CARTIER

Leader Roman Catholic Conservatives in Quebec

Hume Blake was the Speaker at the opening session. During the convention the platform of the Reform party was drafted and enunciated, and proved to be a strong factor in chilling the ardour of Conservative leaders in accepting seats in the Cabinet which the Governor was laboring to construct. However, sufficient progress was made, and Parliament met for its fourth session in Montreal on July 1st, but conditions were such that no progress could be made or benefit to the country secured, and the Governor was compelled on September 23rd to dissolve the House. Writs were issued the following day, the election held on November 12th, and on the 23rd His Excellency reported to the Home Government that he would have a majority of three in the House.

superstructure which was to be erected in the years ahead.

In 1845 the Rebellion Losses in Lower Canada came up for a hearing; a commission was appointed, they made a report, and the matter was dropped for the time being. This gave the Liberal opposition an opportunity by the promise of a bill as the means of getting back into power, which they continued to wield for over two years. The demand for the secularization of the Clergy Reserves was also used for the purpose of making the life of the Government miserable during these days, but owing to the entrenched position of the Government little aside from obstruction was accomplished by either of the other parties.

Lord Elgin

On October 1st, 1846, Right Hon. James Bruce, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, was appointed Governor of Canada, and took the oath of office at Government House, "Monklands," Montreal, on January 30th, 1847.

The third session of the second Parliament of Canada lasted from June 2nd to July 28th, 1847, and marked little or no progress of permanent value to the people. This applied to the session of 1848, but for one single outstanding exception. Meeting on February 25th, the speech from the throne was delivered on the 28th, the address in reply, the amendment, the debate which resulted in the amendment being carried by a vote of fifty-four to twenty, the resignation of the Ministry on the 4th, and the announcement of the personnel of the Liberal Ministry on the 10th, and prorogation on the 24th of March, all within twenty-nine days.

The Ministers, of course, had to seek reelection, but every one was returned, and it is said that (down to 1881), "probably no Government known to our history contained so many really able men."

Responsible Government

Responsible Government had at last arrived, and yet the prerogatives of the Crown had suffered no loss. Lord Elgin's tact and sympathies with and avowed intentions to sustain the people in their desires as decided by their representatives paved the way for considerable progress being made in the first session of the new Government, which opened on January 18th, 1849. The speech from the throne was weighty with good things in prospect, and was supported by the address in reply being carried by forty-eight to eighteen votes. On February 1st was assented to by Lord Elgin an Amnesty Bill, which permitted William Lyon Mackenzie to return to Canada.

Early in April the bill was assented to which constituted what was formerly "King's College," an Anglican theological college, into the "University of Toronto." But the bill of the session was the "Rebellion Losses Bill," which was entitled "An Act to provide for the Indemnification of Parties in Lower Canada whose property was destroyed during the Rebellion in the years 1837 and 1838." Although, as already stated, the previous Government had introduced a measure along the same tenor in 1845, but for party purposes was allowed to lapse. Now, however, the opposition was without bounds. There was this difference in the proposed measures which must be mentioned—the former bill proposed by the Conservative Government only provided for the payment of losses sustained by loyal citizens, while the new measure was intended to reimburse losses sustained

irrespective of the part they may have taken in the rebellion. Nearly seventy years have passed, and we will leave the merits of the bill with the Government that made, carried and put into execution a measure that was at least as righteous in its intentions as one which had been put through the same stages in Upper Canada. If fault there was, it was that it was by a large section of the people considered as being too broad in its application.

Lord Elgin, who had been swamped with appeals from every part of the country either to refuse assent or reserve the bill



GEORGE BROWN

FOUNDER OF THE GLOBE

Who Fought to the Finish and Won Confederation.

for the Home Government, decided that it was the wish of a large majority of the people, and that he had not been sent here to decide on questions, but to enact the decisions made by the Parliament and take the consequences.

During the afternoon of April 25th, 1849, Lord Elgin drove from "Monklands" (Government House) to the Parliament Buildings. The city was aware, of course, of his purpose in doing so, and while he assented to forty-one other bills, the Rebellion Losses Bill also received his signature which made it a law of the land. Immediately disturbances began in the galleries, but little heed was paid to them, and the Governor left the building. As he emerged

therefrom he was greeted with hisses and groans and other signs of offense. A few cheers, however, and friendly faces gave him the opportunity to cover his real feelings as he passed to his carriage. As he drove away such missiles as eggs, stones, etc., were hurled at the retreating vehicle, but did no personal harm to those who occupied it. In the evening the mob gathered at Champ de Mars, where they were harangued, and only dispersed at the suggestion of "To the Legislative Buildings."



JOHN A. MACDONALD
Conservative Leader in Upper Canada
Whom Brown Forced to Put Confederation into
His Party Platform

Parliament Buildings Burned

The Assembly was still in session, unaware of the turmoil in other parts of the city, when they were suddenly interrupted by a shower of missiles of various shapes and materials. Soon fire was in progress at two separate points in the building, and before it was hardly realized what was taking place, the fire had gained such headway that little of value except from the library was saved.

The Council met while the flames of the building lit up the city, and arranged for a meeting of the Assembly in the morning at the Bonsecours Market, which meeting assembled at 10 o'clock in a large hall in that

building, an immense room, without decoration, and with long wooden benches only for seats. Another building, which also came to be called Government House, in Notre Dame Street, was soon secured, and here the Legislative Council held its sessions during the stay of the seat of Government in Montreal. This was not the end of the trouble by any means, but sufficient to account for the removal of the Government to Toronto for the two succeeding sessions, and then for a time alternately with that city and Quebec.

The session was brought to a close on May 30th, by proxy, but the Government, of course, remained in Montreal for some months.

The British American League came into existence about this time, with branches at Montreal, Toronto, Bytown (Ottawa) and Kingston, where a convention was held in July. While the federation of the provinces as a starting point was the primary object of these organizations, the members themselves were as divergent in their opinions about how to accomplish this purpose as the members of the Parliament were as to what they wanted. There was one object upon which, apparently, all were united: to prevent the Government making any agreement of a reciprocal nature which would tend towards any form of union with the United States. It is admitted, however, that the federation of the provinces idea did get some stimulus as a result of these gatherings and the discussions taking place thereat.

Toronto the Capital

With the removal to Toronto in November, 1849, and the consequent conviction that High-Toryism had received its death knell, there began to appear also the disposition to create a cleavage in the ranks of the Reformers—or Grits, as they had come to be popularly styled. The new party styled themselves the "Clear Grits," and the most conspicuous plank in their platform was the absolute republicanization of the country, which was about equal to laying the foundation for annexation to the United States and constituted "the whole difference between a republican form of government and the limited monarchy of Great Britain," as the Government newspaper indicated in an editorial on March 23rd, 1850.

The fourth general election took place on December 14th, 1851, when Robert Baldwin, "the Greatest of Canadians," as he was termed by a political opponent, was beaten at the polls, for York, but as a compensation George Brown was elected by Kent County, and was present to take his seat when Parliament was convened at Quebec on August 19th, 1852. "The old Tory party was dead, and its leader, Sir Allan MacNab, was almost inactive." John A. Macdonald had been making great strides in

popularity and influence in the eight years that he had been a member of Parliament, so that when George Brown was making his entrance into the House, Macdonald was just as surely slipping into the position of leader in the new Conservative party which was emerging from the ashes of Toryism. Parliamentarily, then, John A. had a good lead upon Brown, but Brown could talk in the sessions of Parliament, and when Parliament was over as well as during the sessions—he could talk to an even larger constituency through his second personality, "The Globe." During these eight years in which John A. Macdonald was gaining headway in power in the House, Brown had made great strides with his consistent propaganda of Responsible Government and loyalty to the British limited monarchical system, and the public were coming more and more to

had been made by the means of Crown Lands for the establishment of what the Act stipulated "Protestant Clergy." The members of the Council had continued to be named by those interested, and so had continued to reserve for the clergy of that denomination all the perquisites of the Act. But the agitation was continually gaining in momentum, getting cause frequently to add something to the impetus, by some further act of extension of the pernicious working of the bill.

Exit Clergy Reserves

On August 25th, 1852, W. B. Richards (Brockville) filed a bill with the House to test the validity of the letters patent re the Clergy Reserves. The effect of this action was the abolition of the future extension of



OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS OF UNITED CANADA, TORONTO
The Scene of Heated Debates on Confederation

expect that some day there might be brought to pass some form of a compact that would link up all of the provinces and create a more substantial and useful body of people. But there were diversities of ambitions in each of the provinces and in the minds of most of the politicians, so that there was plenty of opportunity for Macdonald and Brown to continue their differences of opinion for years to come. One of the standing questions—but one which could not be settled by the Legislature because the Council always rejected their decrees—was the "Clergy Reserves," a question incorporated in the Constitutional Act of 1791, by which the Anglican Church had (because it was then the only church having ministers, or clergy, settled in Canada) come to claim the rights to provision which

any rights under the Act of 1791. This matter received further attention in 1854, when its fate was finally settled.

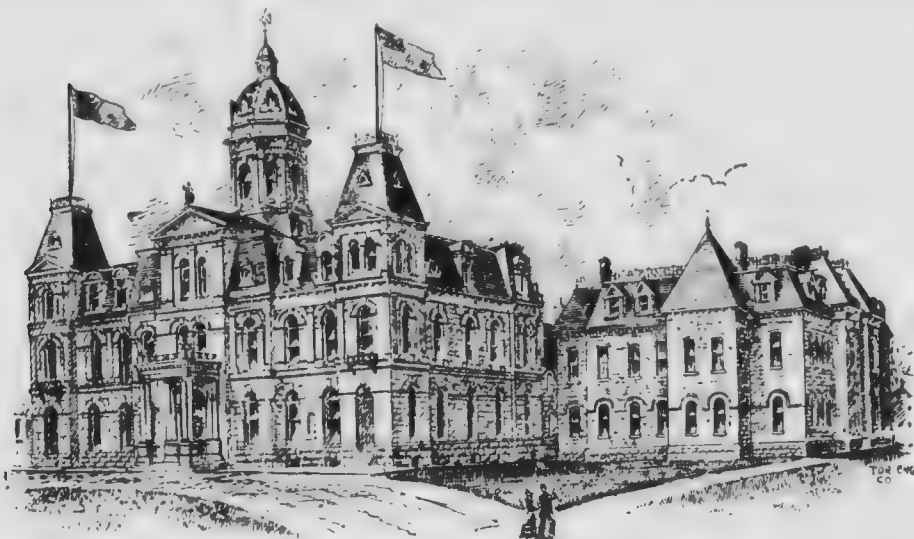
The Legislative Building in Quebec was destroyed by fire on February 1st, 1854, and while repairs were being made in a building owned by the Sisters of Charity, for the use of the Legislative, that building was also burned; but as it had not yet been occupied, no loss of Government property or records was sustained, as was the case in the fire of February 1st.

Parliament met on June 13th, and was dissolved on the 22nd day of the same month, without having enacted a single bill or even an address in reply to the speech from the throne. The questions before the people in the elections which followed were the secularization of the Clergy Reserves and the

abolition of Seigniorial Tenure, another heirloom from the Constitutional Act of 1791 and the people pronounced most emphatically in favor of both these measures. The Government found when the question of Speaker came up for settlement that they were not in authority, but the Conservative opposition were in no better position other than by a rapid-fire action on the part of the Reform leader, Mr. Hicks, who led his party in securing the Speaker selected by the Conservatives, and thus prevented either the Clear Grits or the Rouges—the Radicals of the Upper and Lower Provinces respectively—electing their choice to the Speaker's chair. The Conservatives, on the other hand, could not have carried on a Ministry without the support of one or other of the other parties, so that on the resignation of

June 5th, and a bill was introduced and passed giving effect to this treaty. The Clergy Reserves Secularization Act of 1854 "provided for the removal of one of the greatest abuses to which the Province had ever been subjected." John A. Macdonald introduced this bill on October 17th, and it received the royal assent, as did the Act abolishing Seigniorial Tenure, on December 18th, on which day Parliament was adjourned.

The following day Lord Elgin was succeeded in the Government of Canada by Sir Edmund Walker Head. By this time John A. Macdonald had taken his place, not as the openly avowed leader, but none the less the real leader of the Conservative party. Mr. Morin retired from the Coalition Ministry on January 26th, 1855, and by the time the Legislature met on February 23rd,



LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS, NEW BRUNSWICK.

Confederation was Discussed Unofficially Here

the Liberal Ministers, Sir Allan MacNab, the leader of the Conservatives, was finally persuaded to call on some of the ex-Ministers to form a Coalition Government, which was sworn in on the 11th of September, 1854.

Popular Legislative Council

The House was advised that an Act had been passed on August 11th last by the Imperial Parliament, by which the Canadian Legislature were given power to alter the Constitution of the Legislative Council, and to apply the elective principle to that body, which had heretofore been appointed by the Crown.

This arrangement made a strong Government and good progress was made.

Lord Elgin signed a Reciprocity Treaty with the United States at Washington on

the MacNab-Tache Administration had been formed and continued in power through two sessions of Parliament. Nothing of importance to Federation occurred in 1855, nor in 1856, which directly effected the standing of this question.

Macdonald-Brown Tilt

On February 26th, 1856, occurred a passage-at-arms between John A. Macdonald and George Brown, such as, it is said, had never happened in a Canadian Legislature, if in any British or Colonial Parliamentary debate. This tilt resulted in a deep-seated estrangement between the two which lasted for eight years, and there is some reason to assume, at least, that it lasted for life. Space is becoming limited, and there is no need to go into details, but it was only the



SAMUEL L. TILLEY
CHIEF OF PARTY - Leader for New B.

desperate need of the political situation eight years later than produced what looked like a healing of the wound.

On April 14th John Sandfield Macdonald moved to discontinue the itinerant system of the seat of government, and two days later it was decided that Quebec should be the permanent seat at the expiration of the present period, which was for this and the three succeeding sessions due to remain in Toronto, as per precedent already agreed to and established by law. On May 20th, \$50,000.00 was voted to erect buildings suitable for the Parliament at Quebec. The next day the Ministry resigned, in order to place a new member as leader. This was just equal to the superannuation of Sir Allan MacNab, and the Tache-Macdonald Government was formed and sworn in three days later. This is the first acknowledgement in a public way that John A. Macdonald was the real leader of the new Liberal-Conservative party, which was in a very large sense the product of his own brain and personality. Parliament adjourned on July 1st, 1856.

During the session of Legislature which met on February 26th, 1857, in Toronto, two or three items of interest were discussed. The question of the seat of government had been decided by one party, but it was still a debatable question, and the decision could easily be reversed by the other party if they were returned to power. On March 24th the question was referred to the Queen, asking Her Majesty

(by resolution) to name the Capital -Montreal, Quebec, Kingston, Toronto and Hamilton all having advocates in favor of their respective cities.

Rep. by Pop., which was the popular slogan for Representation by Population, was being advocated by the Reformers of whom George Brown was still one of the strong towers, both in Parliament and by means of his paper, "The Globe." On April 27th Brown introduced a resolution in support of this principle, which was lost, defeated but not discouraged. On May 30th Parliament was adjourned, and dissolved on November 28th, 1857.

Macdonald Premier

Three days before dissolution, however, an event took place of no small importance to the subject under review, that was the elevation to the position of Premier of the Province of Hon. John Alexander Macdonald, who at the request of the Governor, on the resignation of Colonel Tache as Premier and co-leader in the Council with Macdonald, proceeded to and promptly succeeded in forming a Council. The elections were held in December and January, each province separately. While the Government lost three members of their Council, Mr. Brown was returned by two different ridings. His advocacy of Representation by Population, as that of the Upper Province was now greater than that of Quebec, was naturally a strong leader there, he opposed

which also suited the people of the Upper Province. Separate Schools, the Conservative Government, of course, was on the reverse side of each of these questions.

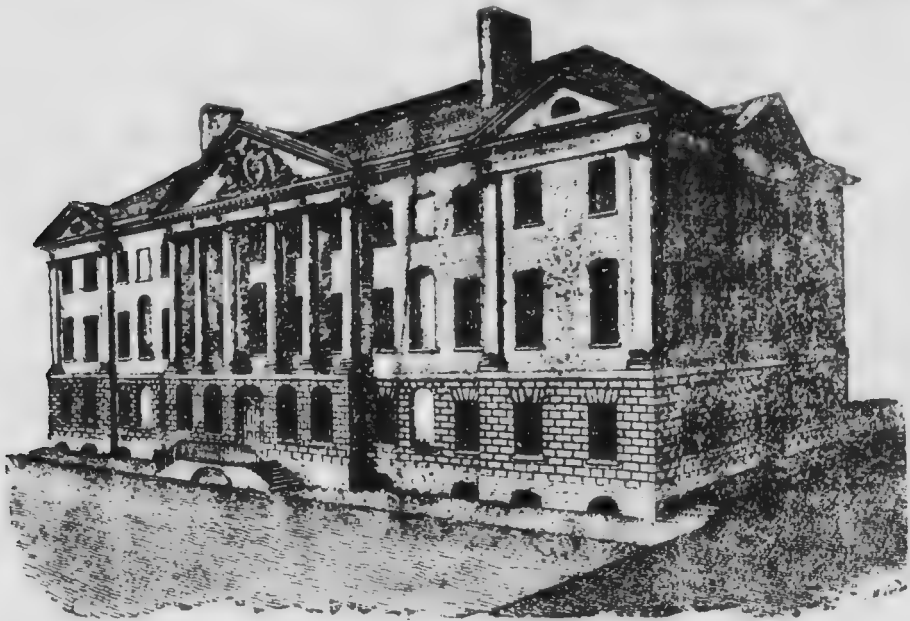


JOHN A. MACDONALD
CHIEF OF PARTY - Leader for New B.

Capital Named

On January 27th, 1858, Her Majesty Queen Victoria re-named Bytown and selected Ottawa as the Capital of Canada, and thus by selecting a non-competing city put many clamorous voices to silence. The double-majority principle, which the Government had advocated for some time, by which they had succeeded in preventing the Reformers from securing any real advantage in voting—meaning a majority in both provinces on the same question—they were forced to discard in the session which met on February 25th, 1858, owing to the great strength of the Liberals in the Upper Province, although the Government had a majority on general questions of twenty to

ness of the Opposition, the Government now decided to resign, which it did on the 29th, and on August 2nd the Brown-Dorion Ministry was sworn in. Mr. George Brown was Premier of Canada, but for the shortest period of time in the history of Canada that a Premier has held the office before or since. On the same night, after midnight, a vote of want of confidence was carried by a majority of 40 in the Legislature, and of eight in the Council, whereupon Mr. Brown waited upon His Excellency, requesting dissolution. The Governor asked for Mr. Brown's reasons in writing, and upon receipt of these declined to dissolve the House, on receipt of which the Brown-Dorion Ministry resigned on the 4th, after a regime of actually forty-eight hours.



NOVA SCOTIA PROVINCE BUILDING.

Where Confederation was Talked Over.

thirty. On July 28th a motion that "It is the opinion of this House that the City of Ottawa ought not to be the Capital of this Province," was carried by 64 to 50. Mr. Brown, amid great applause, arose and declared that the vote declared disapproval of the policy of the Government, and moved an adjournment to test it. The House was fully informed of the test and the vote taken, which was lost, demonstrating that while the Opposition had a strong hand in Upper Canada, the Government still had the confidence of the House.

The Short Administration

To demonstrate, as it supposed, the weak-

ness of the Opposition, the Government now decided to resign, which it did on the 29th, and on August 2nd the Brown-Dorion Ministry was sworn in. Mr. George Brown was Premier of Canada, but for the shortest period of time in the history of Canada that a Premier has held the office before or since. On the same night, after midnight, a vote of want of confidence was carried by a majority of 40 in the Legislature, and of eight in the Council, whereupon Mr. Brown waited upon His Excellency, requesting dissolution. The Governor asked for Mr. Brown's reasons in writing, and upon receipt of these declined to dissolve the House, on receipt of which the Brown-Dorion Ministry resigned on the 4th, after a regime of actually forty-eight hours.

In proroguing the House on August 18th, 1858, His Excellency Sir Edmund Walker Head expressed himself in the following

way: "I am desirous of inviting Her Majesty's Government to discuss with us principles upon which a bond of federal character uniting the provinces of British North America may, perhaps, hereafter be practicable."

Visit of the Prince of Wales

The year 1860 is remembered as the time of the visit of the His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII.) to Canada. We have no space available, nor did the visit of His Majesty affect the questions as a whole which were dominant in Canada leading up to Confederation. The supremacy of the British Crown was not a

linking that he would see the day as Governor-General of a much larger section of Canada than was at that time under his jurisdiction; but such was to be the case.

On May 20th, 1862, the Macdonald-Cartier Government was defeated on its Militia Bill, and the Macdonald (John Sandfield) Scott Ministry succeeded to power the same day. Parliament adjourned on June 9th. Parliament met on February 12th, 1863, and the new Government was defeated on a want of confidence vote, discussion of which lasted four days on May 5th. Parliament was dissolved on the 12th of the same month. The Ministry resigned three days later.



RIDEAU HALL, OTTAWA

Official Residence of Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada

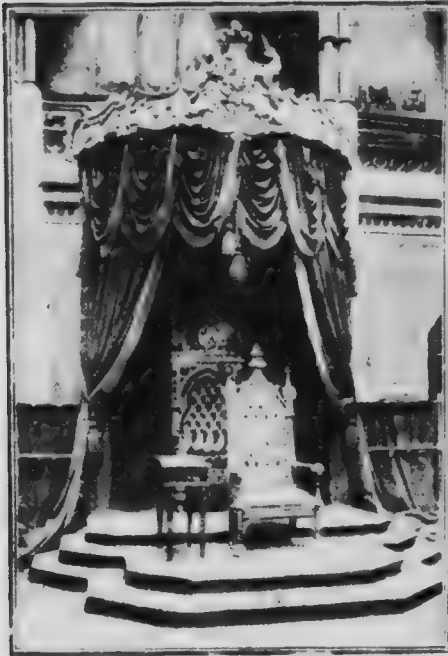
question; that was indisputable. The people of Canada, however—as readers and the older citizens know—gave the prospective King and representative of Her Gracious Majesty their very warmest welcome. The visit at this time was taken advantage of for the purpose of having His Royal Highness (among the many functions) lay the foundation stone of the new Parliament Buildings at Ottawa on September 1st, under what were for the country at that time very elaborate circumstances.

On October 23rd, 1861, Charles Stanley, fourth Viscount Monck, the new Governor-General, arrived in Canada, and two days later took the oath of office, probably little

to be reorganized the following day, as the Macdonald (J. S.)-Dorion Ministry.

Parliament reassembled in Quebec on August 13th, 1863, and it took fourteen days' debate to secure the adoption of the address from the throne, and it was only carried then by a vote of 63 to 60. The session was prorogued on October 15th. The first session of 1864 opened on February 19th, and on March 14th Mr. George Brown moved a resolution in favor of "Representation by Population," which, while it was lost, demonstrated that the Government was in a very bad way for support. This gave Brown the opportunity to suggest, however, that

the Ministry should resign, which advice they acted upon on the 21st. On the 30th Joseph E. Cauchon reported to the Assembly that Sir E. P. Tache had succeeded in forming a Cabinet. The new Government announced its policy, and adjournment was made in order that the new Ministers might seek re-election. The house met on May 3rd, and ten days later a vote of want of confidence was lost by only two votes, while a similar motion on June 14th was carried by two votes.



THE CHAIR OF THE SPEAKER OF THE SENATE
Behind it, the "Throne" of the Governor-General
of St. J. O. 1880.

Deadlock

What do you think now, my reader, of Responsible Government—Government of the people, for the people, by the people? You have read between the lines, and have seen that the actual affairs of the country have not been under consideration, or, if they have, the deadlock existing because of the variety of demands made by the parties, wings of parties, and private members, has effectually prevented any operation towards progress. Think you any business could stand such malpractice, any organization make headway, while those in the management or superintendence devoted their time and talents on one side to giving everything in their power to hangerson, in order to secure the prestige to continue in the management, while those who were not in auth-



LORD MONCK

First Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada.

ority spent their energy and wit in order to obstruct the progress and well-being of the institution? No need to wait your answer.

There was no Ministry, apparently—as the record of the past few years had clearly demonstrated—that could secure sufficient support from the Assembly to carry on the business of the country. What was to be done?

At an earlier hour on the same day a Parliamentary Committee, of which George Brown was chairman, had made its report, which was to the effect that the committee had met on several occasions, had given careful consideration to the matter submitted to them, and were in favor of changes in the direction of a federative system, either in Canada alone, or of all the British North American Provinces. The report also favored the "Joint Authority" scheme, which Brown had so often and strenuously advocated, and which the Government had as often opposed and ridiculed.

When the complete deadlock came later in the day, the Government, in casting about for some opportunity to secure a new lease of life—as opportunists of such long standing and varied experience would naturally be expected to do—this "Joint Authority" fad of Brown's presented the only way of light, the only feasible possibility. To become satisfied that this was another opportunity was to act, and by chance, as the fairy story relates, two Ministers, John Henry Pope (father of Sir Joseph Pope) and Alex. Morris—the second Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba, and a man who on March 19th, 1858, had delivered a lecture in Mont-

real under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association of that city, which is (for it has passed through two editions at least) the ablest effort left on record advocating the federation of the British North American Provinces—the very next day had an interview with Brown, during which the latter expressed his willingness to co-operate with the existing or any other Administration, in dealing promptly and firmly, in accordance with the report of the Committee, with pending difficulties, and consented that his views should be communicated to the Cabinet.

Brown at the Switch

But how could the Government, which had decided the "Joint Authority" scheme, and had opposed—on every possible occasion and with every conceivable argument—the federation idea, as ultimately looking towards separation from the mother country, now swing into line and secure re-establishment by adopting these views which they had so long trampled underfoot? How could it? Just because it was a political Government. From the High Toryism of pre-Canada days, i.e., before 1841, to the present, almost all the rest of Toryism had been thrown overboard, and now the opposition to these two other new fandangies might as well go also. An interview between Brown and his ten year antagonist, in private as well as public life

for most politicians are friends in private, in spite of any apparent juxtaposition of feelings, in evidence in their public utterances—on the 17th, in which Alexander T



HON. JAMES COCKBURN
First Speaker of the House of Commons

Galt was a participant, the outcome of which was that Brown stated that, in consideration of the extreme urgency of the case, he was now prepared to waive all personal considerations for the public benefit: "For the time being he was sole master of the situation; his hour of triumph was here, and that triumph was complete. The man who had on so many occasions traversed his plans, by his wit and irony defeated his hopes, by his sagacity outwitted him, was now a suppliant for his support."

Reconciliation (Sic)

That Brown recognized his importance to Macdonald is proven by the protracted negotiations and carefully written agreement—entered into on the 19th—that there might now be no misunderstanding. The principal feature of interest here was the details by which "the Government undertook to secure the assent of those interested to such a measure as may enable all British North America to be united under a general Legislature, based upon the federal principle."

The crisis is past, the rest of the story is a record of one step after another in rapid historical sequence. The surprise of the Legislature when immediately after the formal opening the leader of the Opposition and the leader of the Government walked to the centre of the Chamber and grasped each other's hand, while there was recited to the House from a carefully written document in great detail the steps by which the agreement had been arrived at and



HON. JOSEPH E. CAUCHON
First Speaker of the Senate

been entered into by both parties, and by this act of public demonstration that statement of facts was confirmed by both parties. This surprise may better be imagined than described.

The Government was reorganized, with George Brown as President of the Council and John A. Macdonald as master spirit on the Conservative side. These two most able and bitter foes were now seated at the same table, to carry into execution their promised attempt at Confederation.

Confederation Conferences

The Maritime Provinces having called a

conference which lasted from October 10th to 28th. Here was drafted in large measure the outline upon which the federation plan should be framed, and considerable of the details carelessly inserted, all of which it was agreed should be kept from the public, in order that opposition should have no clews upon which to establish a propaganda.

On February 20th, 1865, a resolution was carried by a vote of 45 to 15 in the Council, and on March 10th by 91 to 33 in the Legislature, praying the Queen to permit the resolutions of the Quebec Conference to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament.



THE SENATE CHAMBER, HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT, OTTAWA

meeting of delegates at Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, to discuss a union of those provinces, the Council of Canada asked permission for delegates to visit the convention and present its views as to the larger federation. An invitation was extended for this purpose, the convention met in September, and as one of the Islanders afterwards stated, "The Canadians descended upon us and in three days we forgot our own scheme and thought only about theirs."

Thirty-three delegates, twelve for Canada, five for Nova Scotia, seven for New Brunswick, seven for Prince Edward Island and two for Newfoundland, met at Quebec in a

In April Messrs. Macdonald, Brown, Cartier and Galt left for England to press the project on the attention of the Imperial House. They were promised cordial support, but no coercion would be employed with any single province which might express the decision to stay out.

Brown Sidesteps

On August 8th Parliament reassembled to receive the report of the delegates to England, and continued in session for about six weeks, when the last session which was to meet in Quebec was prorogued. On December 21st 1865, Brown resigned from his

position in the Council, owing, he stated, to his refusal to agree that Canada should give every concession demanded by the United States in the negotiations for renewal of the Reciprocity Treaty which was then going on. In view of the fact that Belleau had been made successor to Tache (deceased) in the leadership of the Council, that Galt and Howland had been sent to Washington and himself ignored in both these instances, left doubt at least as to Brown's having told all the truth. Evidently he had grasped the first opportunity to withdraw from a position which every day added to his own disgust.

On June 8th the fourth session of the eighth Parliament of Canada (United Upper and Lower) opened in the new Parliament Buildings in Ottawa.

On July 3rd Ministers of the Council laid



HENRY H. M. HERBERT
Fourth Earl of Carnarvon
Colonial Secretary

Introduced B. N. A. Act in the House of Lords

before the Legislature resolutions defining the Constitutions of Ontario (Upper Canada) and Quebec (Lower Canada), under the proposed measure of Confederation, and on August 15th what proved to be the last session of the old Parliament was prorogued.

In November six delegates from Canada, five from New Brunswick and five from Nova Scotia left for London (Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland had dropped out), where what is known as the London Conference assembled on December 4th at the Westminster Palace Hotel, and continued their labors up to Christmas Eve, when their work as delegates was completed.

"B. N. A. Act" Introduced

On February 12th, 1867, the Earl of Carnarvon introduced the British North America Act in the House of Lords. Seven days later it was read the second time; passed the Committee of the House of Lords on the 22nd; read the third time and sent to the House of Commons and read there on the 26th. Two days later it was read the second time there, and on the 4th of March passed Committee of that House. On the 8th the Bill passed in the Commons, and on March 29th was given the royal assent by having Her Majesty's signature appended, and thus became the law of the British Empire.

On May 22nd Her Gracious Majesty issued a proclamation appointing July 1st as the day upon which the Dominion of Canada—the word Dominion was selected from Psalm 72:8 as the text described the geographical situation so effectively; it is: "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea and from the river to the ends of the earth"—should commence its existence; and named the seventy-two Senators who should compose the first Cabinet.

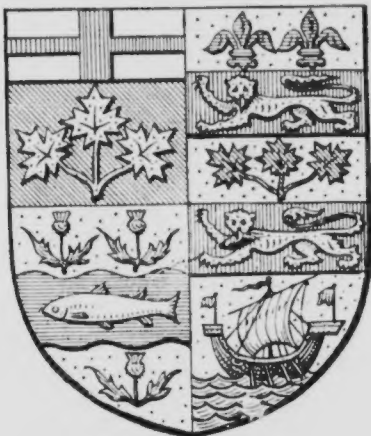
Confederation Inaugurated

On July 1st, 1867, Lord Monk, the Governor-General of Canada, proceeded to the Parliament Buildings, escorted by a military body guard, where in the presence of the members of the late and new Governments he was sworn into office as Governor-General of the Dominion of Canada by Chief Justice Draper, when he announced that he had been instructed by Her Majesty to confer the honor of knighthood upon John A. Macdonald, and Companionship of the Bath on Tilly, Tupper, Cartier, Galt, McDougall and Howland.

The inauguration of the Dominion of Canada was then consummated by the organization of Upper Canada into the Province of Ontario, with Major-General William Henry Stisted being sworn in as Lieutenant-Governor. Lower Canada became Quebec, with Sir Narcisse F. Belleau; New Brunswick with Major-General Charles Hastings Doyle, and Nova Scotia with Sir William Fenwick Williams (the hero of Kars), as Lieutenant-Governors respectively.

The Premiers were: Sir John A. Macdonald (of course), for the Dominion; Hiram Blanchard, for Nova Scotia; Pierre J. O. Chauveau, for Quebec; John Sandfield Macdonald, for Ontario, and Andrew Rainsford Wetmore, for New Brunswick. There was some hesitancy about it, but finally Joseph Edward Cauchon was elected first Speaker of the Senate, which position he held until 1872, becoming Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba on December 2nd, 1877.

On the elections for the first Parliament under Confederation, which took place in August and September, the man who had



Dominion Coat of Arms

for many years been gradually making his influence and personality more and more effective, had the satisfaction of writing to a friend: "We have carried everything before us in the two Canadas and New Brunswick. Our majority is, in fact, too large. Nova Scotia, on the other hand, has declared as far as she can against Confederation, but she will be powerless for harm, although that pestilent fellow, Howe"—Macdonald, sly fox, took the pestilence out of him by making him President of the Council on January 30th, 1869—"may en-



The Great Seal

deavor to give us trouble in England." Brown was defeated, and never stood for election again.

First Parliament

The first Parliament of the Dominion of Canada was opened on November 6th, 1867, and on the following day the Governor-General, Lord Monck, delivered the speech from the throne, which was in all respects fitting to the occasion, and while the discussion which followed was of some days' duration, there was no amendment, and it was finally carried without a division.



IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, LONDON, ENGLAND
Where the British North America Act Received Its Final Touches

James Cockburn, member for West Northumberland, was elected first Speaker of the House of Commons.

Parliament adjourned on December 21st, in order to allow the Provincial Legislatures to meet and accomplish inauguration, which they did as follows: Ontario and Quebec on December 27th; Nova Scotia on January 30th, and New Brunswick on February 13th, 1868.

Through the press of Canada, at this time, there will be issued unnumbered editorials, essays, brochures, monographs and volumes on the progress, the outlook, the place that Canada has in the past and will occupy in the future. This effort is intended, not in any sense to contribute another to that field, but rather to supply a background that is likely to be in many

instances given less consideration by those more capable to tell the story of Canada as it has developed in the half century that is completed today. We entertain the hope, on the other hand, that the story we have here set down has in some measure made clear, no matter how inadequately, WHO it was that brought about; WHEN and WHERE the principal events were staged; and last, but not least, WHY it was that we are today, this first day of July, nineteen hundred and seventeen, enjoying all the benefits and privileges, as well as the responsibilities, of self-government and representation by population, as provided for in the British North America Act, popularly expressed by that well-known and sympathetically appreciated synonym,

CONFEDERATION.

